1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

285 4/2 intervals twigs cross these which are bent down the sides of the scoop to the handle, where all the loose ends are bound together. While the specimen at hand has a hoop drawing the tip toward the handle, it is probable that this was intended to hold the beater in shape only until the green twigs dried.

222 252 Gayton records that beside mescal, juniper berries were eaten.[1] Pinon nuts, which ripen in October, are parched and ground (without removing the shells); the ground meat is spread on bread. The nuts may also be ground without parching and stirred into boiling water to make a thin gruel.

[285] [412]

Fig. 1 (50.2-1575). A Seed Beater.

263 [222] Wild bees hive in dead logs and the flower stalks of dead mescal. Parties of children go out, picnic fashion, to gather the stalks, split them, and collect the honey. Rock salt (Nɑ'i) is collected from a cave in the [917] cliff on the south side of the Colorado, where there are stalactites of it. This is ground. Much less than we are accustomed to is used.

Hunting

224 [262] Hunting is a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his field products. Flesh is part of the dietary the year around, but particularly during the fall and winter when they reside on the plateau. Antelope, mountain sheep, and deer are said to abound in the order named, while cotton-tails, jack-rabbits, and squirrels are plentiful. Hunting in the gorges of the Grand Canyon is really a hazardous enterprise. One instance was recorded of a wounded ram charging his pursuer and hurling him from a narrow ledge. Yet killings are sometimes tame affairs: one man standing at the door of his house shot a mountain sheep but a hundred meters away. They frequently descend the canyon close to the village.

[1] Gayton, 344.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Boys are trained for the chase by precept and example, beginning in their ninth or tenth year; for success is far more dependent, in the native mind, on skill than on supernatural aid. Nevertheless charms are used and taboos heeded. Occasionally a calculus (*gwagiilá*, deer —), sometimes as large as 5 cm. in diameter, is found in the paunch of a deer. This, the only charm known, is carried to the hunt on a thong hung about the neck. It proves fairly effective for deer, but for deer alone (?). One specimen (50.2–1629) is roughly wound with a reddened buckskin strap. Its elderly owner attached so much value to its powers that he has even guarded it from the eyes of fellow tribesmen. (Sinyella, for instance, has seen it but once.) He has repeatedly refused to sell it, even to a Navaho shaman who offered a horse. When he surrendered it to me, he was visibly moved: "You are taking my heart." Sinyella has one, 2.5 cm. in diameter.

I always carry this in my pocket when hunting deer, antelope, or mountain sheep, in order that they stand looking at me unsuspecting while I approach. When I have this I can secure plenty of big bucks; I need many buckskins. If a man dreamed of seeing many deer, I would give it to him to carry on the hunt. I found this last winter, but I have not hunted much since. Perhaps other men have them, but I do not know. Not all deer have these in their paunches. I do not know how they are formed.

Luck is acquired in dreams (p. 332), for a man may obtain the success prefigured there, although there is no certainty. One who dreams of a successful hunt will try his luck; any success within a short time is ascribed to the promise of the dream. The causal sequence does not weigh greatly. Jess, for instance, has dreamed on occasion of fawns passing near him, whistling as they went. He followed the fresh tracks in his dream. Yet, when he failed to find such signs when he went hunting afterwards, he thought no more of it.

Prayers to the sun and a definite magical procedure, of which Sinyella gave the following account, are prescribed before the hunt commences.

Long ago Mountain Lion and Wolf were men. They went hunting for deer every day, but tried many days without finding any. So they thought, "We have not found any. I wonder why. I will think out how I can kill them." So they said something that they might find them easily. Then they said, "We two ordain this. A man should bear in mind what we have said, then when he is hunting, but finds no game, he may repeat it and forthwith attain success." Men know of this today. When a number of men are going to hunt, the big chief issues directions. "We are all going to hunt. One of you should go a long way, two or three miles, just before it is daylight. There you should gather some old deer droppings in a pile, and set them alight until they are entirely consumed. When the ashes are cool, we will all go there."

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

224 782 539 When they reach the appointed place, the chief and each of the others touches his finger to the little heap of ash and makes a mark at the corner of his mouth. Then the chief prays, addressing the rising sun:—

myíšn,ákšdjá	pá'ámáhágá	tyúdjš
Sun, my relative	look at us	that is why I am here
pá'ámáwtwuká	djipaimšuh tiová	má'dvuká
you should give us	your domestic animals	let us see them quickly
imá'ᵛdja'áká		
we want to kill some.		

So he talks to the sun: then some of the hunters kill many deer,

224 [833] On the other hand, sexual intercourse would interfere with the pursuit, for the animal would readily get wind of his pursuer or the latter would not be able to see any game. A man would therefore wait two or three days and then bathe before he went hunting.

Hunters sometimes wear a disguise when stalking antelope, deer, or mountain sheep (*dmauldjuwóvigd*, *dkwagádjuwóvigd*, *dmudjuwóvigd*, antelope, deer, and sheep stalking). The stuffed headskin of an antelope is worn on the head, while the body is painted pink and white to resemble that animal. Mimicking its actions, the hunter approaches within ten or fifteen meters before he lets fly. A deer head, similarly prepared, but with the addition of willow branches for horns, is worn together with a buckskin coated with ashes to represent the hide. When stalking mountain sheep, the same body disguise is used but the headpiece is the stuffed headskin of an ewe with horns of stuffed buckskin added.

These animals are also driven to localities where they may be conveniently shot. There are a number of places on the cliffs where an animal trail passes around a projecting point, so that they must proceed in single file in order to pass. The hunters build a low semicircular rampart of stones overlooking this place, in which the best shots may crouch with arrow fitted to string. Others drive the animals along the trail; by preference this should be a large party, for the animals are difficult to head off once they turn back. Those in ambush agree that one will shoot the first to appear, another the second, and so on. Game is also driven on to the point of a plateau, at the entrance to which bowmen have been stationed, some at each side and some in the middle. Other men are located at the tip of the promontory to drive the animals back for a second shot. Sometimes they are driven directly over the cliff. The brush and grass is sometimes fired to aid in these drives.

The carcass of a deer struck down by a mountain lion may be taken for food by the old men, but not by those with young children (p. 283).

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

The manner of butchering a deer is stereotyped. To remove the hide, cuts are made encircling the neck just back of the head, down the belly to the tail, inside the legs, and around the hocks, taking the tail with the hide, but leaving the head and hoofs on the carcass. If the headskin is desired as part of the hide, the belly slit is continued to the lower lip, and additional cuts are made around the base of the antlers, then on a line joining them, and from this line down the middle of the face to the upper lip. The skin is folded flesh side in to prevent it drying out while it is being carried to camp. One who kills a deer owns its hide and flesh, but he is obliged to give certain portions to those who accompany him, should they want them; to wit, both hams (cut close to the spine and well down on the leg) and the rib section. He reserves for himself particularly the skin and the section along the backbone containing the long tendons. This is said to divide the carcass into four equivalent portions. Anyone may have the legs and viscera which remain. Brains and marrow from the spinal canal are collected for tanning, antlers to furnish picks for digging clay and flaking punches for arrowheads, dewclaws for rattles, and sinews for bowstrings, sewing, etc. Mountain sheep horns are taken for ladles and arrow wrenches.

Cotton-tail and jack-rabbits, coyotes, and wildcats are tracked in the snow for the sake of their pelts which furnish warm robes and bedding.

I (Pinyella) used to stay in Coconino Basin in the winter. I was then a grown man. There was a little snow covering the ground. I and another man went out to hunt deer on the plateau. We saw no deer tracks but we found those of a bear. We followed them and after a short distance we saw the bear walking ahead. We followed him: he did not turn around. We hid behind a big dead cedar tree which was lying on the ground about fifteen meters from where the bear stopped. The bear did not turn around: he was busy digging up the ground. First I shot at him with a gun and the other man shot too; we both hit him and he fell dead. We waited a little and, as the bear did not move, we loaded again and approached quietly pointing the guns at him. When we were within a few yards of the bear, which lay still, we both shot again. Then we took hold of his leg gingerly and pulled it. We said, "It is dead," and then we skinned it. We did not eat the flesh, just carried the skin home. We kept it, but did not know what to do with it, so eventually we threw it away. A long time ago the old folks ate bear meat, but I never saw it eaten in my lifetime.

I killed three bears. The second occasion was when I wanted to go and see the new town of Williams; there were few houses there. When we were west of Red Lake — there were four or five men — we wanted to stop and hunt deer in the little mountains. Two of us went right to the top of a little mountain; we took up a position where the deer trails crossed. We wanted some of the others to go around the far side of the mountain, where, by making a little noise, they could chase the deer to the spot where we were waiting. We had been there only a little while, when we heard something running toward us. We thought perhaps it was a buck. Then we saw it running out of the trees. It was a bear; he was coming straight at us. We felt afraid

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

224 and wanted to run, but we were rooted to the spot. Then the bear ran right by us and I shot him in the side. He went on and the other man a little way behind me shot him again, but he went a little further before he tumbled over. We took his hide and told B—— who bought it for $5.00.

The third time I was down near Black Tank (near Seligman) about the time *sîl'i* seeds were ripe. There were a lot of people gathering them. These people said that they would like to go hunting antelope. Quite a number went out to the south of the mesa (toward Seligman). A long way off they saw three bears: one was digging the ground, while the others were sitting by, watching. I said to the others, "I have the only good running horse; I will go alone to shoot them." I wanted the others to tie their horses to the trees and I told them to climb tall trees to watch me shoot. Then I went off. The others did as I told them, while I went by myself. I circled around back of a hill. I tied my horse to a tree and went toward the bears. They did not see me, although I was only fifty meters away. I sat down behind something and shot the biggest one, hitting him in the ribs. He growled and grabbed the little bear and threw it to one side; then he did the same to the other seated on the other side. I went right back and mounted and showed myself to the bear. When the bear saw me, he rushed at me. I whipped my horse and ran with the bear running after me. The bear nearly caught me: I thought my horse was a pretty good runner, but the bear was only a little way behind all the time. So we ran for a long way, when the bear began to tire, so that I drew a little further ahead. When I was quite a long way off, the bear stopped; so I stopped too, and turned my horse and sat there watching him. Soon the bear walked slowly to a big cedar tree and lay down in the shade. Then the other men came toward me, but I shouted to them. "You stop and wait there: the bear is lying down." The others all came and stopped; came on again a short way and stopped again, until they got to me. Then we all went toward the bear; I was a little ahead. "If, when I get close to the bear, it is not dead, but gets up and chases me, I will come back to you," I told them. I went close and found that the bear had been dead a long time. The bullet had gone right into his ribs. We merely looked at him, but we did not touch him. Then we went home.

This month (October) there is no snow: next month when the moon is half full, it will snow. It was like this month when I and Jess were over at *Djápiðwáá'pi'ma* (Apache Spring, near Ash Fork). It was snowing a little. We were hunting deer, when I found mountain lion tracks, which I followed until I saw the lion. I was riding my horse. I chased him; he circled around to the spot I first saw him. I killed and skinned him, and packed the skin and meat to camp. That day we killed two. Next morning Jess brought his lion hide over to my camp. We took them to town and sold them.

Squirrels, raccoons, and wildcats are hunted for their flesh. Mountain lions are also eaten by the older people.

Rabbit drives are attended by all the available men and boys. There is no special hunt leader. They drive in a straight course, not by drawing in a circle, for they say that there are too few individuals for a surround. The animals are shot; never clubbed.[1] The hunt has no esoteric significance.

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[1]While the Hopi curved rabbitstick (*kwh'wtsi*, rabbit—) and the Walapai drive nets (*ataháh*) are known, they are not used.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Rabbits are also tracked in the snow to their refuges in hollow logs, etc., whence they are drawn with a straight poker (*halaPuldai*) corresponding to the crooked stick of other tribes. This is a thin pointed stick more than a meter long, nicked for a distance of 10 cm. at its tip. When thrust into the log, it is twisted about until these barbs catch in the rabbit's fur. When the rabbit is drawn out, the hunter locates the heart, pinches it, and with a sharp yank ruptures it.

Traps are placed on the rodent trails in the fields and near storehouses to catch the squirrels and rats which root up the corn, tear their way into the storehouses, etc. Snakes and birds are sometimes found in these devices, but no attempt is made to trap or snare larger game. A stick rests in the fork of an upright stick, 25 cm. long, with one end propping up the deadfall weight, a large flat stone (Fig. 4). A cord tied

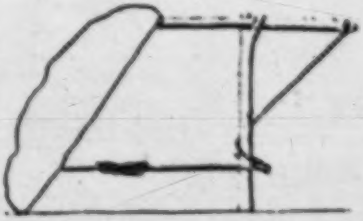

Fig. 4 (30.2-1228). A Rodent Trap.

to its other end has a short stick attached to it. The cord is carried half around the upright, so that one end of the short stick rests against it. The trigger stick is propped between the stone and the other end of the short stick; the tension of the cord holding it in unstable equilibrium. The trap (*gwen'daia*, something ——) is placed on the trail, with wings of brush arranged so that the rodent must pass under the deadfall. It is baited with dried peaches or mescal pulp tied firmly to the trigger.

Turkeys, found on the plateau, especially near Pine Spring, doves, and quail, as well as the eggs of the last are taken for food. Other birds and their eggs are not eaten.[1] Fish are not eaten.

Dogs are sometimes used in hunting, for driving rabbits into hollow logs whence they could be chopped out, or for following wounded deer over hard ground. The dog is loosed on the trail, to pursue and hold the

[1] Unlike the White Mountain Apache, the Havasupai do not build fires under trees in which doves and quail roost in order to stun the roosted birds.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

animal at bay. They are bred to furnish good hunters, and castrated.[1] Dogs are called by name; such as *wakwadad*, labia minora (a male dog), *gi'n,ikdwaid*, referring to age, the dog having gray hair, and *idôa*, painted (a brown dog with white patches.) Any dog is called to *'gaiyd*, *súgd*, *súgd*, dog, come, come, and driven off with *sat'*, *admigd*, go away.

Preparation of Food

Primitive peoples have more methods of preparing their food than they are commonly credited with. The Havasupai, for instance, have innumerable ways of preparing corn, only a few of which—the result of casual observation—are recorded here.

The grinding slab, on which nearly all wild and cultivated seeds are ground, is roughly rectangular, 80 by 50 cm., by 10 cm. thick. A smaller slab, carried with a moving camp, is 60 by 30 cm. A shallow oval, but nearly rectangular, depression is pecked in one face with a hammerstone. The stone of which they are made is so tough that the process of producing a proper trough is very lengthy: on this account they are highly prized. The mano (*va'ha'djd'a*) is roughly a prolate spheroid, 17–22 cm. long, with short diameters of 7.5 and 10 cm. The woman sits in front of the slab which rests flat on the ground, with its face slightly tilted toward her. The corn, beans, etc., are first pounded with the end of the mano, and then crushed with a pounding, rocking motion of the stone. The meal is brushed off forward with the side of the hand into a tray basket. The chaff is separated by swinging the basket, throwing its contents into the air, and at the same time blowing off the lighter particles.[2] The clean meal is then replaced on the slab to be pulverized by grinding with an additional slight rocking motion, forward and back, and to a lesser extent sideways. There can be no doubt that the shape of the metate depression and mano among Indians in general is in part the result of the miller's movements. When not in use, the grinding slab is turned upside down with one edge resting on the mano to keep it clear of the ground. A brush is used for cleaning the metate. This is a bundle of mescal leaf fiber, 20 cm. long., bound with a cord for a distance of 4 or 5 cm. at the center.

Stone mortars (*wigwetu'tid*; *wi*, stone, *gwe*, something, *tútid*, to pound) are also used for pounding corn, piñon nuts, or dried meat. These measure 15 to 20 cm., with a hollow 10 cm. in diameter. The pestle (*va'ha'djd'a*, mano) is also stone.

[1] Dogs are not used for transportation, nor eaten so far as I know. The dogs of sixty years ago are said to resemble those of today, which in turn are in general similar to the North American breeds figured by Allen. Is it possible that they are relatively unmixed and therefore worth study?
[2] Illustrated in Mason, O. T., (k), Plate 100.

1 [i.e., hunting dogs.—Analyst]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

171 222 [253] [412] White Mountain and San Carlos Apache). Like the Havasupai, the Yavapai and White Mountain Apache dry it in large cakes on a layer of sticks and make a concoction of the dried product.

171 412 222 The method of harvesting wild seeds by beating them with a scoop into a basket held in the free hand is characteristic of the Basin tribes and those in adjacent California and Arizona. A woven seed-beater is used by the Kaibab Paiute, Panamint, Paviotso, Gosiute, Ute, Northern Maidu, Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Cahuilla. The Northern Shoshoni and Salinan substitute tray baskets for these; the Western Apache and sometimes the Salinan a stick. The Yavapai also gather the seeds in the characteristic manner.[1] There are differences in the shape and technique of the beater which would repay investigation.

171 224 A number of tribes share a definite procedure prior to a deer hunt which corresponds to the Havasupai meeting at a fire and praying to the sun. The Huichol obtain power from a fire on the evening before the hunt; Luiseño hunters stand in the smoke to be freed of the effects of any breach of social observance. The Maidu meet at a fire to offer to the spirits; the Achomawi and Atsugewi have a ceremony in the evening of the first day of the hunt at which the leader chews roots which he throws toward the mountains. Bourke states that the Paiute and Walapai (but not the Mohave) sing and dance before a deer hunt, but he does not specify the procedure. There is at least a partial analogy in the Western Apache sprinkling pollen and praying to the sun.[2] The Tepecano and Hasinai also have special observances.[3]

[833] The Havasupai also hold continence a prerequisite for success in the hunt. This is true of the Huichol, Paiute, Walapai, Maidu, and is at least suggested by the Luiseño data. It may be general.

I do not know that the deer drive of the Havasupai constitutes a definite type. Driving them into a *cul de sac* or over a cliff may be very common. It has been noted for the Navaho, Yavapai, Maidu, and Gosiute.[4] The chute-and-pound method is widely distributed over the Basin-Plateau and Plains, but is unknown to the Havasupai.

The use of a deer head, or that of an antelope or mountain sheep, as a disguise in stalking is a rather widespread practice. In the west it is recorded among the Mimbreños Apache, Navaho, Zuñi, Hopi, Havasupai,

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[1] Powell, 1226; Coville, 253; Lowie, (b), 234; Chamberlin, 341; Mason, O. T., (g), 489; Dixon, (a), 198; (c), 213; Barrett, (a), 257; Kroeber, (g), 45; Lowie, (a), 187; Mason, J. A., (a), 130, 143; Bourke, (d), 131; Carlsmith, 329.

[2] Lumholtz, (c), II, 80, 41; Sparkman, 109; Dixon, (a), 193; (c), 213; Bourke, (a), 178; (c), 802, 804; (e), 438.

[3] Mason, J. A., (d), 136; Bolton.

[4] Stephen, 257; Franciscan Fathers, 475; Matthews, (d), 229; Carlsmith, 328; Dixon, (a), 192; Chamberlin, (b), 355.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Yavapai, Luiseño, Salinan, Maidu, Achomawi and Atsugewi,[1] Kombo (Yana or Yahi), Paviotso, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Chop-punish (a group at the eastern edge of the Nez Percé reservation), and Crow.[2] There are doubtless others.

Communal rabbit drives are probably very common in the Southeast and the Basin, but records of the fact elude a search. They are recorded as the practice of the Navaho, Acoma, Zuñi Hopi, Havasupai, Yavapai, Pima, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, Shivwits, Gosiute, Paviotso, Washo, Northern and Southern Maidu, Achomawi and Atsugewi, and probably Walapai, Mohave, Uintah, and Salinan.[3] There is some variation in the procedure: the Paviotso, Havasupai, Yavapai, and Hopi hunters form in a line and drive in a straight course; the Shivwits, Navaho, Pima, and again the Hopi form a circle. The Washo, Paviotso, and Shivwits have a special director of the hunt; the Havasupai do not.

The rabbits are frequently driven into nets: Walapai, Mohave, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, Salinan, Shivwits, Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Northern Maidu, Achomawi and Atsugewi. This distribution omits the Southwestern tribes, except for those on its western fringe.

The characteristic curved rabbit club was not in universal use. It is the weapon of the Hopi, Zuñi, Navaho, Mohave, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cahuilla. The Zuñi, at least, also use straight billets of wood. Several others are known to use clubs of some sort (Yavapai, Pima, Western (?) Apache, Achomawi, and Atsugewi) but the Shivwits and Havasupai use none at all.[4]

Many tribes in this area use a stick provided with a crook to draw rabbits and other rodents from their hiding places. But it is recorded only for the Yavapai, Tonto Apache, and Shivwits Paiute. I have also a recollection of seeing this tool among the Navaho, but a Havasupai informant referred to the use of a straight stick provided with little barbs like their own. The same straight stick is used by the Zuñi and probably as a second type by the Shivwits.[5]

The Navaho use a trap identical with that of the Havasupai, and this is true of the Hopi, if I correctly interpret the description given by Mason based on information from Hough.[6]

[1]Cremony, 29; Franciscan Fathers, 275; Matthews, (d), 217; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 439-441; Hough, (a), 285; Corbusier, 328; Sparkman, 197; Mason, J. A., (a), 124; Dixon, (a), 192 . . . 212.
[2]Powers, 271; Lowie, (i), 197, 199; (a), 185; Lewis and Clark, IV, 371; V, 38, 40; Lowie, (b), 210.
[3]Franciscan Fathers, 324, 476; Sedgwick, ch. 11; Bourke, (c), 545; Hough, (e), 174; Cushing, 398; Russell, (d), 50; Spier, (d), 337; Sparkman, 198; Lowie, (i), 196-199; Powell, 127. Chamberlin, (b), 336; Harrett, (b), 11-12; Dixon, (a), 195; Faye, 38; Dixon, (e), 213; Whipple, 115. Mason, J. A., (a), 143; Mason, O. T., (c), 268.
[4]Hough, (e), 285, 287; Mohave specimen in the Museum of Anthropology, University of California; Barrows, 50; Bourke, (b), 60.
[5]Corbusier, 328; Smart, 418; Powell, 123; Cushing, (d), 501; Lowie, (i), 198.
[6]Franciscan Fathers, 322; Mason, O. T., (j), 472.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Bows, Arrows, and Quivers

Both the self and the sinew-backed bow are used, although the former is more common. Arrows are either arrow reeds with willow foreshafts, or entirely of wood. The position of the bowman is three-quarters face toward his quarry with the bow held vertically. It is gripped slightly below the center. The arrow is held in position with the left forefinger until ready to shoot; then it rests on that hand to the left of the bow. It is pulled back at shoulder level and the bow held rigid while it is let fly. A variety of the secondary release[1] is used, in which the arrow is grasped well forward in the feathering while the first and second finger tips bear on the string (Fig. 21). Either reed or wooden arrows are used with self or sinew-backed bows. Either bow will carry about 175

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

Fig. 21. The Variant of the Secondary Form of Arrow Release used by the Havasupai.
Fig. 22. Section of a Sinew-Backed Bow.

m., but the effective range is 30 to 45 m. At this range the arrow would penetrate a deer from 15 to 25 cm. At a shorter distance an arrow could be driven completely through a horse. Mountain sheep have been killed when shooting down from a hundred meter cliff. Allowance is made for windage; but rain and snow are said to have no effect on the flight. No prayer is said when shooting, nor will sickness or menstruating women in the house where it is kept affect the power of a bow. The arrow was carefully withdrawn after the kill; heads and feathers of broken arrows were saved.

The best wood for bows (*kâpá'"*) is called *kâp'âylma'a*, or *kâp'â*, or *puima'â*, which is probably the ash (*Fraxinus anomala* Torr.). A young tree, about 1.25 m. tall, is selected, and its branches trimmed close so that it will grow straight. In two years this is ready to cut, for the trunk

[1] Morse, 143–190.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

439 The rate paid by the Navaho is probably abnormally high as their demand for foodstuffs exceeded their ability as refugees to pay.

Trade was not solely in the hands of the Havasupai. The abundant harvest and the attendant dances in the canyon provided a strong incentive for visiting and trading, especially to the Navaho and Walapai. The Walapai also traded directly with the Hopi of Oraibi. Journeys to the Walapai for visits, dancing, and trading, were frequent. On the whole, trading was incidental to other pursuits, and, considering the relatively small amount that changed hands, was little more than an exchange of presents and the profits of gambling.

177 439 648 554 Trade visits, etc., provide an effective mechanism for culture exchange. But more particularly participation in intertribal relations and the acquisition of knowledge of the foreigner's ways reacts to a man's credit. It is clear that a man's prominence is enhanced in this way, and may even become the basis for recognition as a chief.

202 Columns of smoke are raised from time to time by traveling parties to attract attention or to signal friendly intentions. This is evidently customary among all the tribes of this region (see pp. 371, 379).

[439] 648 The following account indicates the type of casual visit for the purpose of trade. It is clear, however, that gain is not the chief interest.

484 722 When I [Sinyella] was four feet high the Yavapai liked to come to this place to fight; they killed so many every time. My relatives were afraid on this account and they wanted to go to stay at Oraibi where there were many men. So we went and there I played with the Hopi boys and learned the Hopi language.

224 484 648 This was the very first time I made a trip to Oraibi. We started from the village to go up by Tovõk,óvá [the dry bed of a waterfall, Lee Canyon] and camped in a little cave nearly at the plateau. There were a good many people with us. They said among themselves, "We would like to go out and hunt for mountain sheep. If we kill some we will eat them," and others agreed. In the morning all the men went hunting on the plateau to the west. When the sun was halfway down in the sky we heard someone holler from the hilltop in that direction. They shouted, "One man has fallen down the white cliff and has been killed." Then all the hunters came home and told us. "They found a flock of mountain sheep. There were several rams with them. One of the men shot a very big one with an arrow, and the other sheep, the big ones, ran off. The wounded ram jumped part way down the white cliff, and ran along a very narrow ledge. Two men jumped down from rock to rock and along the ledge, following him. The ram stopped at the abrupt end of the ledge. My father and Jess' grandfather followed the ledge. The ram turned toward the men and ran fast at them: he held his head down sideways. My father stood right against the wall; the other stood right on the edge. There was not room enough; it was very narrow there. The ram butted Jess' grandfather off the cliff to the bottom. The ram stood right there, until all the others came and killed it, and then it too fell down the cliff at the same place. So we all came down the Tovõk,óvá trail and went around into the canyon where we found the man at the bottom of the cliff. We carried the body away, dug a

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

789 lightning and rain. Suddenly the storm broke, everyone scattered, and
791 the two heard the hail pounding on the lodge.

There is a more extended performance for producing rain. A ring of brush is made, within which men sit in a circle with Rock Jones[1] at the center. At his command they rise (but do not dance) and sing about the white clouds, the big black storm clouds, the lightning and thunder, rain, the wind blowing hard, storm water running on the ground, the foam on it, and so on. When they tire he orders them to sit; then they sing again. This makes rain aplenty (so attests Sinyella, who has taken part); the ground is wet, the grass grows well for the horses to fatten on, all the seeds grow plentifully, and everyone is happy. Rock Jones' hair, face, and body are painted white; this represents white clouds. His face and body are also colored black and red for the storm clouds and the red hue of the clouds at dawn and sunset. For a robe he wears a big buckskin tied by its legs over the right shoulder and hanging under his left arm. He wears moccasins, leggings, and buckskin pants. An eagle tail plume is thrust upright in his hair; to the tip of this the largest, softest down from under these tail feathers is tied. Two similar plumes are thrust crosswise through his front hair like horns. His gourd rattle, a flat one, is painted longitudinally with zigzag stripes of red, white, and black. The other men are stripped to the waist: hair, face, and trunk are painted white. Some also had buckskin for robes.

756 It is not altogether clear that those who are specially endowed to
cure snake bites, fractures, and wounds, or to hunt deer, etc., should be
classed with the shamans. A man may continually dream of the deer;
224 he sings about it. Finally he hunts and finds that the deer stand while
791 he approaches, for they do not fear him; so he is able to kill many. He informs others who then hunt with him. Such is called a deer doctor (*dgwdgd glsdmd*). He is good at catching such animals as mountain sheep, jack-rabbits, cotton-tails, etc., but he has no control over foxes, coyotes, wolves, wildcats, or mountain lions. There are various other
756 kinds of doctors, among them, those for sickness (*gwelvdg glsdmd*), for fractures (*pakaûd glsdmd*), for wounds (*nahdmi'dvidjd glsdmd*), for stomach trouble (*nundlaidjl gdsdmdvd*), and for snakes (*dluwi sdmd gd*). Both doctor and medicine are called *glsamd*.[2]

Doctors for stomach trouble practise only on infants still in the cradle, who are afflicted with disturbances of the bowels because their

[1] I do not know if this procedure is used by other shamans.

[2] There is a mythical reference to a wind-and-black-sand doctor (*mdtdkdd dmdtdmgd'djd dgdamdvdldj*). "Your sumo [black sand?] off and make it dark," he is told (Spier, (*f*), 113).

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

of the gourd in regular patterns; the Mohave and Southern Diegueño paint it, the Chemehuevi do not.

The use of red paint powder to protect the skin from chafing, etc., may not be general. The few instances of its use noted are Navaho, Pima, and the Puget Sound Salish.[1] The Zuñi and perhaps others use cornmeal for dusting the skin of infants.

The Havasupai use of prayersticks represents an elaborate Pueblo practice in an attenuated form. I have not attempted to isolate the analogs of the local type elsewhere for lack of special knowledge. The distribution of prayersticks among the modern tribes indicates that their use is confined to the Southwestern tribes and those of northern Mexico at least. Prehistoric examples have not been reported from outside of this area so far as I recall. Their use among the Pueblos is well known. They are also used by the Navaho, San Carlos Apache (who place eagle plume sticks in the cornfields), other (?) western Apache (used in a hunting ceremony), Papago, and perhaps the Pima.[2] The ceremonial arrows of the Huichol, Tepecano, and Cora are certainly closely related forms. The Tepecano also deposit in the springs plumed sticks used in curing.[3] The Northeastern Maidu set up sticks on the graves of chiefs which are to all intents identical with the Havasupai prayersticks. This suggests that further examples may be found among the western Basin tribes.[4] At any rate the practice of planting the plumes is not Californian nor Plains-like.

The hunting charm, a calculus from the paunch of a deer, is used in precisely the same fashion by the Yavapai and Northern Maidu.[5]

The bullroarer is rather generally distributed over the Southwest, the Basin, and perhaps the Plains. It does not appear to be generally used in California. I have not examined the literature for its occurrence beyond these limits. The Havasupai association of it with the rain is of course characteristic of the Pueblos (Hopi, Zuñi, and the Rio Grande Pueblos), San Carlos Apache, and Papago.[6] The Arapaho and Klamath have an analogous usage, to produce wind.[7] For the Gros Ventre, North-

[1] Franciscan Fathers, 70; Russell, (d), 169; Hasborlin und Günther, 82.
[2] Franciscan Fathers, 306–308; Bourke, (a), 502; (c), 430; Mason, J. A., (c), 15; Russell, (a), 82, 108 ("... rain ceremonies, during which the medicine-man deposited the tails of mountain sheep together with eagle feathers at springs").
[3] Lumholtz, (c), II, 134, 197, 203–209; Preuss, Tafel VII ("Regen-opferpfeile"); Mason, J. A., (c), 349; (d), 131.
[4] Dixon, (a), 244. The probability is perhaps strengthened by the resemblance to the Havasupai plumes of the Cheyenne hair ornaments worn in the hand game played by Ghost dance converts. (Field Museum specimen 99972). These may have come from the Basin with the Ghost dance.
[5] Curtis, 236; Dixon, (a), 266.
[6] Hough, (c), 294; Bourke, (c), 477; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Franciscan Fathers, 414; Mason, J. A., (c), 16.
[7] Kroeber, (b), 396.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

868 father is the proper guide, but (paternal ?) uncles may offer casual instruction. Nicely made bows are sometimes presented by a grandfather, and all seasons, particularly the autumn when the quail abound, see the boys practising marksmanship. While boys are still young they are taught by precept. They were first taken hunting when about ten years old, shown the deer tracks and "parks", how the game stands and walks, and how to crawl up to it and shoot. Boys of this age are cautioned not to smoke until they have killed their first coyote.[1] When a youth first [224] kills a deer unassisted, he lets it lie, returning home to fetch his grandfather, or some other ancient. The old man flays and butchers it, and he, not the boy, eats the cooked liver.[2]

Little girls help their mothers at household duties when their brothers of equal age are roaming from home in sport. They accompany their mothers to the fields to gather corn, to the orchards to prepare peaches, etc., and assist by carrying little loads of produce and wood, fetching water, and tending the babies. Adolescent girls remain under their [882] mothers' eye and do not go about the canyon freely.

Basket making is taught to girls of seven to nine years. As attendance at the government school interferes with the old process of training, [117] [648] it is difficult to observe today what progress may be: a girl of sixteen made an execrable basket; three years later her work was average. A left-handed girl has also been taught.[3]

Dance and gaming songs, which have no esoteric character, are picked up by quite young children. It is a common thing to hear them sing snatches, particularly if they think themselves unobserved. One boy of five had quite an extensive repertoire. Children of eight or nine [852] take part in the dance and without much hesitation join in the singing.

Women dance and sing as well as men do, yet they do not have any periods of dance practice.

Although young children may listen to stories on a winter's evening, 538 Manakadja stated that no serious effort is made to engage their attention [868] until they are ten or twelve years old. This informant and Sinyella were each told the tales by an uncle (probably an elder brother of the father) when boys. Men of fifty or sixty pretend not to know the tales sufficiently

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[171] [1]The Pimas have the same custom (Russell, (d), 119). Pueblo boys are forbidden to smoke lest it make cowards of them, or as at Cochiti, lessen their ability to run (Dumarest, 145; Parsons, (f), 91). Smoking is connected with warrior status. I vaguely recall having read that killing a coyote is also a requisite, but cannot now find a reference to this.

[2]Among the Paviotso of Humboldt Lake a youth does not eat his kill (rabbits, etc.) until he has brought down his first large game (e.g., deer). He carries home the hide to his father, who makes a throng loop from it, which he throws over the boy. He may then eat the flesh (Hopkins, 80). A Shasta boy does not eat his kill until a year or more after he begins to hunt, else he would lose his luck (Dixon, (b), 432).

[3]Hrdlička, (d), 485, notes that San Carlos girls are taught twined weaving first, later coiling.

These Indians apparently had no knowledge of 273
peyote. There was no intoxicating liquor of any kind on the
reservation. I was beginning to realize that, on the surface, life in 000
this canyon might be like living among children, except when
savage tempers were aroused—and then? Well, I had asked for
adventure.

I still did not know what to write in that annual report.

The school session had been interrupted by the departure of 224
the former superintendent. Vacation, at this school, came in the 222
fall, when the entire tribe made an exodus to the mesa to hunt
game and to gather wild seeds and plants, so I planned to open
school on Monday morning, asking Vesnor to notify the people
in the village. The following Saturday I would be free to take a 161
census of the tribe and determine the acreage under cultivation. So 311
far, I had no basis whatever from which to work out the report
Mr. Ewing wanted. But by verifying the statement of a former
teacher that there were two hundred fifty Indians in the tribe and
three hundred fifty acres in gardens and orchards, I could incor-
porate his figures in my report to Washington.

Even in summer, the sun did not rise in our part of the canyon 132
until after nine o'clock, so it was still gloomy and damp when I
crossed the grounds to the school building Monday morning. The 133
school plant stood at the head of the stream, the dividing line
between the upper, desert end of the canyon and the lower sec-
tion, a jungle of greenness. Immediately behind our schoolhouse
stood a column of stone about three hundred feet high, partly
detached from the wall by rain and frost. If it fell, it would bury
the schoolhouse beneath tons of rock. The danger seemed immi-
nent as I gazed at the upper end of the column, standing straight
and free. Later, I learned that such columns topple over only
after a flood.

I had rung the warning bell, and it was time for school, but no 812
children had appeared. Then the bushes parted violently and 177
dozens of little Indians burst through on the run. Behind them,
maneuvering his well-trained pony with all the skill of a cattleman
rounding up strays, rode Vesnor. The older pupils followed more

2:Cliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

crawl, lacking the strength to stand erect and walk. When killed, a snake loses its spirit. Where else can it go but into the child? However, this baby's legs showed no signs of weakness.

Childhood days would be pleasant for this little girl. There was no "nap time" nor "meal time" for Havasupai children. They played until they tumbled over asleep, awakened when they felt like it. If they were not around when the pot of stew was taken from the fire, they filled their stomachs when they came home.

Children and grownups played together, and the stream was their playground. The little folks darted through the water as guiltless of clothing and as agile as small brown fish. The women frolicked, laughing and screaming, somewhat hindered by their long underslips, but missing none of the fun, while the men, enjoying more freedom in this sport as in other activities, wore only loincloths. They loved nothing better than to take a burro into a deep pool, piling children on his back until they submerged him to his nose. They would tip him over backward, holding him under much too long for his comfort, shouting with laughter when he came up sucking air into his lungs noisily and painfully. Yet the burro seemed to enjoy these bouts, entering the water willingly if not eagerly.

The intelligence used by the parents in training their children would set a worthy example for any race. A mother did not scold. Instead she taught her small daughter to play grownup, to weave baskets, sweep the floor, carry water and make fiber brooms. This training prepared the child to care for a home of her own. But, wisely, this training went beyond material things, for the little girl was also taught to be kind to her husband's people. This early training was responsible, I think, for the harmony with which those related by marriage worked and played together.

Young boys must rise while it was "little light" and run swiftly toward the rising sun. This prepared them for the hunt and made them swift in capturing the enemy. They were indoctrinated in the ritual of the hunt which involved many superstitions and taboos. To ensure success, prayers must be offered at smokes or hunting

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

shrines—appropriate pictographs on walls or stone. The ashes of deer droppings, sprinkled at specified times and places, made success more certain.

Physical punishment was seldom inflicted on a child. In all my experience I never saw an Indian parent strike a child. A whipped child loses courage, they said, and his soul withers and dwindles away until he dies, for the soul of a child is a tender thing and easily hurt.

However, the case of old Captain Burro was utterly at variance with this gentle philosophy. He seldom appeared at the school, spending his time among the villagers, where, as a rule, he was ignored or subjected to rude jesting. When a small boy he may have been an incorrigible thief or liar or he may have defied tribal superstitions or taboos for he had been subjected to the *jelka* punishment, and the ignominy of it went with him through life. One can well believe that this savage punishment would shrivel a child's soul, for the excrement of animals was used to make a smudge, over which the boy's head was held until he was limp from suffocation. It was not the physical torture that marked his soul, but the revolting form in which it was administered, accompanied by taunts and jeers. This he could not live down, nor could he escape the brand of liar and thief it put upon him. The bitter ridicule of men who loved nothing so well as a jest at another's expense would follow him until death.

His "withered soul" reminded me of Lily's crippled hand, and the Walapai's ridicule. The Indians had not learned to tolerate with sympathy those who did not conform to the established pattern, socially or physically.

Most beautiful of all, to me, was the instruction to children regarding the care of the aged. "When your grandparents are old and blind, lead them gently where they want to go. Break off chunks of the good corn bread baked in the ashes, and put them into their mouths. If they have no teeth, feed them the warm corn mush." I never saw any evidence that the old and helpless were neglected or turned out to die, as was so often

2:11iff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

481 move about and the obstacles of precipices and gorges could not stand in the way. They were ingenious in scaling walls, so the employees at the school merely widened the Indians' trails and used them. The men produced a superior quality of buckskin by a 281 process of tanning with the roasted brains of deer and the marrow [237] of the spinal cord. This was a tedious process of scraping, soaking, burying the skin in wet sand and rubbing it between the hands until soft and pliable. From these skins they had made moccasins and clothing for the entire family. But now, "store clothes" were [177] becoming more and more common.

178 Even before the beginning of this century, the tribe's habits and customs were slowly yielding to the pressure of civilization. The clothes they wore, the food they ate, the language they spoke, their very thoughts were undergoing change. Instead of sitting at their grandfather's knee learning the tribe's history and the traditions that had molded the character of the people, their children were now bent over books in the classroom. At the Sunday services they were learning about a new and strange god.

224 But the loss that stirred the deepest resentment was that of their 648 hunting grounds. In this their gods could do nothing. The superstitions and taboos to which a hunter must conform were now nullified by Arizona's game laws limiting the open season, which also restricted the use of charms to that brief period when deer were being slaughtered by the white man's guns. Even the prized [789 calculus (a solid substance obtained from the paunch of a ruminant) 237] carried by the hunter to charm the deer and make it an easy target, lost all value.

The restrictions on their hunting range were brought home to me forcibly the day a forest ranger stopped at my office and said, "I'd like to see the one in charge down here."

"I am in charge," I told him.

He regarded me coldly, then made his accusation: "You permit the Indians to kill deer out of season. It's against the law."

Someone had told. A picture flashed through my mind, one that I had acquired only a day or so previously. In the late afternoon, I

Hilliff Y-S (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

was following the trail through the village when laughter and shouting broke the silence. At a home a short distance off the trail, Chickapanyegi, hot and tired, with headband askew, stood by his horse, unlashing from his saddle the carcass of a small deer. My first thought was of the violated game law. I said to him, "You know this is the closed season. Why did you kill that deer?"

He wiped the sweat from his face on his sleeve before he replied, "Indians, deer, here first. White man no here. Now white man make law. We got no meat. My family hungry."

"Eat your meat, now that you have it, but don't break the law again. I can't protect you. You will be taken away from your wife and children and sent to jail."

The crowd had grown while we talked, but they were silent, knowing well enough what was wrong and wanting to see what would be done about it.

They and the deer were here first; a close relationship existed between them. They killed only for food, and the deer spirit understood that. If one of them killed wastefully, the spirit that protected the deer would punish him with sickness and death.

I explained to the forest ranger the Indians' idea as to his ancient relationship to the deer and reminded him that the white man killed for sport, taking the legal limit and leaving to spoil the meat he could not carry away, while the Indian killed game for food and this was a sacred privilege. The ranger was as helpless as I. We both were obligated to demand respect for the law, regardless of our sympathy, but I wanted him to understand their idealistic attitude. The time would come when these Indians would need a friend at court.

"My sympathy is with the Indians too," he admitted, "but that will not keep them out of jail if they break the law."

So Vesnor and Lanoman went through the village, warning every man of the penalty of breaking the game laws.

Life among these people had taught me that we could not force them into an alien mold. We must teach them, lead them, give them time. Suspicion and superstition went hand in hand, con-

Sulliff Y-5 (ca. 1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

would comb the desert for the piñon nuts, oily and pungent, as they fell from the pine trees. The desert, which yielded its store of food to those who knew where to search for it, was ripe for the harvest.

Each day one or more groups climbed the trail, bound for Seligman to loaf about the trader's store, or for the pueblos of the Hopi or the scattered villages of the Walapai. They would denude the plateau of its food plants as they traveled. Laughing, shouting back merry good-bys to us, they climbed the trail. The canyon seemed full of empty houses.

From their talk I gathered a clear picture of their life on the upper level. They would kill an occasional deer or mountain sheep, if no white man were about; even without these there would be meat, for rabbits were plentiful. They satisfied their need for sweets by robbing bees' nests hidden in clefts in walls or in hollow trees. Long ago they had found a cave in a distant cliff that contained more rock salt than they could use. So with vegetables, meat, salt and honey in addition to the supplies they took with them, their needs would be satisfied.

When harsh winter set in, they would retire to their small, tight winter houses in the cedar thickets and live off their stored foods. One of the most delicious of these was the corn that had been roasted in the husk, while fresh and green, dried somewhat and stored. They would cook the ears in boiling water and the grains would have the sweetness of fresh corn.

Those who had not bothered to bring cooking pots, drew on the desert's reserve by burning the spines from a section of barrel cactus, removing the center pulp, and using the cavity for the old-time method of stone boiling. Accustomed to making the most of the things at hand in the desert, on the mountains, or wherever they might be, the women cooked mush and boiled vegetables or meat in this unique container, giving no thought to the hardship involved.

Melting snows and swelling buds would start the wanderers leisurely homeward, pausing on the way to reap a rich harvest

223 411 of fifty paces. Their skill was such that on one occasion I lost a dollar thus within half an hour.

136 At one time in February I found the canyon alive with quail, the whirring of whose wings met us on every hand as we rode along from hawa to hawa.

I am told there is no fish in Havasu Creek above Mooney Falls, but from the base of this fall on to the river both large and small fish are abundant. I rather doubt this, as on the occasion of my attempt to reach Beaver Falls down the course of the creek from Mooney Falls I saw no fish, nor signs of any.

One of the Havasupais tells me that mountain sheep may be seen on the northern rim of the Grand Canyon in small bands. When the snow is deep upon the Buckskin Mountains and the Kaibab Plateau they descend to the more temperate regions of the canyon where grass may be found in plenty, and then the Paiuti and Paiced Indians kill them, drying the flesh for later use. This they do regardless of a territorial law, which forbids even an Indian killing mountain sheep at any time. The Indian regards his as a prior right, existing long before there was any territorial legislature, and he acts accordingly.

● 224 Mountain lions, wildcats, lynxes, coyotes, badgers, deer, and antelope, with an occasional mountain sheep and bear, are the larger quarry of the Havasupai hunters. The deer and antelope they find in the open grassy glades of the forests on the canyon rim and reaching towards the desert. The other game is generally found in the recesses of the canyons or on the slopes of the far-away mountains of Hue-han-a-patch-a (the San Franciscos), Hue-ga-wool-a (Williams [103] Mountain), or Hue-ga-da-wi-za (Red Butte).

plums, almonds, and pomegranates, there being only a few trees of the latter three kinds. 245 177

Whiting lists the following aboriginal cultivated plants: corn, pumpkin, squash, Hopi sunflower, three varieties of beans (tepary, kidney, and lima), cotton, and gourds. Introduced plants include peach, pear, plum, apricot, fig, apple and walnut trees, watermelons, cantaloupes, blackeyed peas, devil's claw and alfalfa. Plants introduced, but rejected or used very little, are onions, chilies, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peas, wheat, and cherry and almond trees (Whiting n. d., 80). 241 177

Spier (1928, 108) reported antelope to be the most plentiful large game animal, with mountain sheep and deer also in good supply. Mountain lions were killed occasionally, but the meat was generally abhorred. Smaller game included cottontails, jackrabbits, squirrels, and various kinds of birds. McGregor (1951, 17) reports predators now present on the plateau are lions bobcats, coyotes, badgers, and probably foxes. The Havasupai are now restricted to hunting deer and antelope only in the legal season. Rabbits are an occasional item in the daily fare, but most meat is obtained by purchase from a store or by butchering Havasupai-owned beef. The Havasupai did not eat fish, and, although Havasu Creek has been stocked several times, few Havasupai will eat fish even today. Apparently, the next storm following introduction of fish kills them or washes them down to the Colorado River. 136 262 [224]

The Reservation and its Administration

The original Havasupai Reservation, established in 1880, consisted of an area 5 mi. wide by 12 mi. long lying on the floor of Cataract Canyon and the adjacent Esplanade. In 1882, the reservation area was reduced to 518.6 acres located entirely within the confines of Cataract Canyon. In 1940, four sections of land on the plateau, outside the National Forest boundaries, were added to the reservation to give the Havasupai water rights on various springs used by their stock. Horses and cattle owned by the Havasupai graze in the Grand Canyon National Park, which completely encompasses the reservation proper, and also on National Forest lands adjoining Grand Canyon National Park to the west and south (Ladd, personal communication, 1952). 657 131 [423] [231]

Government Services

The Office of Indian Affairs administrative headquarters, located almost 100 mi. away at Valentine, Arizona, is the Truxton Canyon sub-agency, which also serves the Walapai, Yavapai, and Camp Verde Apache. A resident agent at Supai acts in an advisory capacity to the tribe and is in charge of government-owned property on the reservation. A sub-agency was first established in Cataract Canyon about 1895 (Whiting n. d., 21). 657

ineligibility to subsequent eligibility for marriage, as reported by Opler (1941, 82). 881 182

Among the Havasupai, the puberty ceremony's most important function may be for the girl herself. Attentions given her during the ritual puberty observance tend to: (1) dramatize a difficult experience for her by treating it as one of relative importance; (2) sustain and reinforce her ego by verbal delineation of her prospective roles, and by indirect acknowledgment of her newly acquired status; and (3) minimize possible unpleasantness of the physiological change involved by directing a girl's attention toward the ritual and its symbolism, and by emphasizing importance of her future womanly duties toward her family.

Initial fright felt by a pubescent girl living at home might easily be forgotten in the reassurance offered by the puberty ceremony and its accompanying attentiveness to the girl by her mother or another close relative.

Puberty for boys is not marked by ceremony. Perhaps the closest thing corresponding to puberty ritual was the recognition which formerly accompanied a boy's first successful deer hunt. A youth was not permitted to eat any of his first kill. He divided it instead among relatives and friends or among other hunters.

While some form of the puberty ceremony usually is performed for a girl of today, a boy no longer has the opportunity of achieving recognition through his mastery of hunting techniques. The Havasupai, of course, are restricted to hunting during annual game seasons. Wild animals no longer play an important part in their economy. [224]

Mythical Origin of Menstruation

A folktale describing the manner in which menstruation came about is incorporated in a longer story. Only the part concerning menstruation is narrated here. 841 539 773

"Long ago when the world was still wet, before the human race was here, and when the animals were like human beings, Squirrel lived in the San Francisco Mountains. One day he took the tibia of a deer and painted on it a design. After sundown, he threw the bone to the east with a prayer that a young girl would come to him with the next rising sun. The girl came just as Squirrel had prayed she would. She lived happily for a time there at the camp with her guardian, Squirrel, and her brothers, Coyote and White Dog.

"One day Coyote called to his sister saying, 'Sister, you must stay here while I go out to hunt.' After the girl had waited awhile, Coyote returned carrying a fawn he had killed. The girl was glad to see the fawn and sat

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that menstrual blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason a menstruating woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would not come in contact with her. If an unused house or brush shelter was conveniently located near her camp, a woman might occupy this for a few days, but no menstrual hut was purposefully erected. At present a menstruating woman should not enter a sweatlodge. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweatlodge. 841 881 [777] 224 [343]

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female or male, may take charge of the ceremony. 881

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself. The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of the girl's father. [184]

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult, could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other interviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and this grandfather, with whom she lived as a child and who "was always telling me stories and teaching me the right things to do." [603]

The puberty ceremony in complete form as described here, is seldom, if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of powdered ocher. In practice, almost any combination of features from the prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sunset. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work at this time. 881 177

Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices

In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, ornamentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some attention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the court- 291 302 832

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC STATUS AND ROLE

Division of Labor

Economic activities were not in precontact times as sharply sex-limited among the Havasupai as among some primitive groups. It is questionable whether more than two or three kinds of work were strictly limited to one sex or the other. Masculine occupations included hunting, skin dressing, and manufacture of clothing, weapons, and tools. Women gathered wild plant foods, cooked, prepared food for storage, manufactured baskets, pottery and a few miscellaneous articles, and took care of the children. 462

Predominantly Male Activities

Although agriculture was primarily a man's responsibility, all members of the family assisted at every stage. Spier (1928, 102-4) also made this observation. Housebuilding was another task commonly undertaken by cooperative efforts of both sexes, the heavier work being done by men. Trade was carried on by both sexes, although it was primarily the domain of the men.

Men did not weave baskets or make pottery, but members of both sexes occasionally engaged in all other occupations listed. Men were the hunters, but an entire family might help in locating game and driving it toward the hunter. A father sometimes trained his daughter to hunt if he had no son or if she showed inclination or skill in this direction. However, a girl so trained did not hunt independently, and upon reaching adult status she might continue to hunt with her husband, but the ordinarily feminine tasks took precedence as her primary responsibility. [224]

Spier (1928, 140) notes that tanning buckskin "is strictly a sex-limited industry, the handling of the skin from flaying the carcass to the finished moccasin or woman's dress is man's work alone." On the other hand, James (1903, 231), who made a few observations during a brief visit and was perhaps less than an accurate reporter, recorded that "men and women both dress the buckskins for which the Havasupai is so famous." As hunting laws now restrict the number of hides obtainable, only a few men were observed tanning hides. The casualness with which most tasks are undertaken and the delight of sharing work suggest that women may possibly have assisted in the tanning process and perhaps in clothing manufacture, but it is unlikely that women undertook the tanning operation independently. Today, when a man brings a hide to the sweat lodge to rub and stretch it while he gossips, two or three friends may join in this operation, and it may be [114] [224] [281] [476]

THE HAVASUPAI

of the neck skin of the deer. The upper was a single piece of soft dressed skin, lapping at the outside of the foot, where it was fastened with a silver Navaho button. The woman's moccasin was a two-piece upper, a toe piece and a tongue in one, and long ankle flap which was worn around the ankle. The single tie string was wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold. 291

Jewelry worn by the Havasupai is obtained in trade from the Navaho and Hopi or from the trader's stores at Grand Canyon. 301 439

Although the Havasupai relies mainly on his agricultural products, meat is a part of the diet the year round and especially during the winter. During the winter months rabbit drives are conducted by the men and boys. They drive in a straight course instead of drawing in a circle as several other tribes do. They claim their numbers are too few for a "surround". The rabbits are shot; never clubbed. Deer, antelope, mountain sheep, squirrels, and raccoons are also hunted. The hunt is still of economic importance as a supplementary source of food. Guns now are used in hunting instead of the traditional bow and arrow of former times. 262 294 [462] [177]

A man's work consists of house building or at least performing the heavy labor such as cutting and setting posts and beams, tending his fields, dressing hides, and looking after his range cattle and horses. 462

HANDICRAFTS

The Havasupai make basketry in two techniques, twining and coiling. Baskets are the most important domestic utensils and in each household may be found several burden baskets, food trays, and one or two water bottles. When not occupied with her other duties, the Havasupai woman is generally engaged in her craft. 285 415 [487] 462

The best material for making twined baskets is the acacia, generally gathered green. If gathered dry, or dried and stored, the twigs are either soaked in water or buried in wet soil two or three days before using. Cottonwood and willow are used. [524]

The leaves are stripped from the twigs by drawing them through the hand protected by a piece of cloth. The twigs are split in three parts, beginning at the tip, by using the teeth and both hands. Only the two outside strips are used, the inside being discarded. A knife is used to scrape the strips to uniform thickness. To begin weaving, two pairs of twigs are held so they cross at right angles at their midpoints. A weft strip is bound two or three times across the junction and the ends are woven alternately over and under the ribs. The weaving is in clock-wise direction, with the right side (the inside of parching trays and the outside of most other baskets) of the basket toward the weaver. After twining twice around the four ribs, another rib is inserted and caught into the twin stitch. The end of the twig is softened in water so that it can be drawn in tightly by the weft. The butt of the twig protrudes on the under side of the basket beyond the stitch by which it is held. As the weaving progresses new warps are inserted, always regularly spaced. As a rule baskets begin with diagonal twining, the weft crossing two warps at a time. Some begin with simple twining, the weft crossing single ribs, but soon change to diagonal weave. Diagonal twining is much more rapid. In either case the warps are inserted one at a time, but weft elements are twined in pairs, new strips are added singly.

To finish the edge of trays, burden baskets, or water bottles, the warp ends that protrude beyond the woven fabric are split and thinned, then bent to lie along the rim, and bound together with a stitch.

The burden baskets and water bottles are decorated with simple designs made by introducing different varieties of twining and with black from the Martynia or devil's claw. They have loops for carrying. The 285 415 531 [483]

The
181 women excel the men in such dexterity,
461 being wonderfully apt and graceful in the use of the hand in making baskets or preparing food. The men are expert
● [224 hunters, and constantly practice marks-
311] manship with bows and arrows and rifles. They are doubtless endowed with elements of progression, as shown by their habit of always adopting and profiting by improvements or advantages of other nations, when once convinced of their superiority. The women are certainly
[562 duller and less impressionable than the
151] men, but far more thoughtful, and apparently quite sage in some of their reflections, their opinion being at times sought, in ultimate cases, by the latter.

342 The habitations of the Ha-va-su-pai are of three kinds, two of which I have already mentioned. Often, those above the river are conical, half-underground structures, made by supporting three forks against one another, laying lesser poles around these in a circle, and covering the whole with sticks, flags, grasses, and dirt, extending the front out in the shape of a veranda; or, again, by combining the square and the round forms in one, the latter serving as a retreat during severe weather. Anciently, the stone house, of good proportions, and not unlike the Pueblo architecture, except from the fact that it never exceeded one story, was sometimes used, as attested by ruins, of which several plans occur among my notes.

342 Strangest of all, however, with their
172 lesson for the speculative archæologist, are the little cliff dwellings of stone and mud, before mentioned. Though ruder than the wonderful remains of similar character in other parts of the West, ruins which have attracted world-wide attention and speculation, they are identical with them, and are the only examples of recently-built and still-occupied cliff dwellings. Furnishing clews
343 to the uses of the lesser rooms and
172 niches in the prehistoric cliff ruins, are the hundreds of little *caches*, or grana-

343 ries, which, sometimes miles away from
172 the permanent village, and often in almost inaccessible places, everywhere occur in nooks and shelves throughout the cañon. Equally interesting are
342 the strange, conical little sweat-houses,
343 built of sticks, grasses, etc., and closely roofed with dirt, as well as the bark and cedar-brush wigwams and shelters, which
[224] the Ha-va-su-pai build far and wide, dur-
[221] ing their winter hunts, throughout the forest-covered plains of the desert above and around their cañon.

438 For a few years past, the Ha-va-su-pai have been in the habit of procuring, by barter with the Hua-la-pai, cast-off soldier and other American clothing, which is worn to a considerable extent
291 by the men. The native costume, however, is not rare. It consists simply of a coat made from a single deerskin, a transverse slit in the centre serving as neck-hole; the sleeves, of two pieces of the same material, heavily fringed, are attached to the edge of the skin, either side of the neck-hole, and open down as as far as the elbows. Save the seams at the shoulders and from the elbows to the wrists, no sewing is necessary in this peculiar coat; yet it is made to fit admirably by means of a belt or band, with which the ends falling down front and back are gathered about the waist. Add to this the breech-clout of soft, fringed doe-skin, wild-cat or rabbit skin, close-fitting leggins fringed down the front, — though quite as often the legs are bare, — and a pair of heavy, doubly or trebly, raw-hide-soled moccasins of buckskin, which reach above the ankles like buskins, and the dress of the Ha-va-su-pai man is complete. To all this,
[554] however, the Pueblo blanket is an additional luxury, possession of which is indispensable to good standing in the tribe. The dress of the women is yet more simple. It consists of a long fringed apron of red buckskin, buttoned together behind, extending from the breast — where it is secured by a strap around

The /99 cont./
131 inaccessibility of their cañon home has tended to keep them
177 immune from outside influences, so that in many ways their
life is still delightfully primitive. Their typical dwelling
342 consists of a framework covered with brush or tule and sometimes with an outer covering of earth. In summer a four-post brush shelter is erected, which affords protection from the sun and allows free circulation of air.

262 The agave plant, cut and prepared in much the same way as by the Apache, has always been an important article of food among these people. Other native vegetal foods are grass seeds
224 and piñon nuts. From time immemorial the Havasupai have
[221] been hunters. On the approach of winter they left the cañon for the upper levels, built wickiups of boughs and bark, and spent the cold season in hunting. Deer were the principal game, although they killed some mountain sheep and an occasional black
[251] bear. Much of the venison was cut in thin strips and dried for
237 summer use. Deerskin dressed by the Havasupai was considered
281 the best by all neighboring tribes; consequently, it not only
[439] furnished clothing, but was an important medium of barter. But the life of the Havasupai has changed. Game is scarce, and
177 224 the Government does not willingly grant them permission to
648 hunt on the surrounding mesas, hence there is little wonder that the wrinkled veterans long for the old days when game was plentiful and they hunted where they would. "Now all is changed," they say. "We cannot go out of the cañon without asking the white man. We dare not hunt deer, as the game must be saved for the Háiko. We are no longer men; we are like little children; we must always ask Washington!"

241 Corn is now their chief staple, besides which they raise
262 beans, squashes, melons, pumpkins, sunflowers, peaches, apricots,
171 and figs. They prepare corn in countless ways, corresponding
252 largely to those of the Hopi. In fact, the modes of preparing corn by all tribes of /100/ the Southwest are much the same. Much of the crop is allowed to ripen on the stalk; this is later ground into meal on the metate. Quantities of green corn are harvested, roasted in large pits with the husks on, and hung to dry. This may be ground or simply shelled and cooked, either alone or with beans, meat, and dried squash. Like the figs, their

It was considered improper for shamans to request payment for their services although relatives of the patient usually proferred gifts within a month of the treatment. Tanned buckskin, Navajo blankets, or food were typical gifts. It would appear from our data that the shaman considered this an act of good will rather than specific payment for his "professional services." 756

Weather shamans had less power; usually they did not acquire a spirit. Spier (1928, 281) noted that they "obtained power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms." Rock Jones dreamed of clouds that talked to him. He could see the clouds but could not feel them. He could call them to come near, but only if he was alone. Later, when he became a curer, the same clouds helped him to cure spider and snake bites. Weather shamans did not dance for rain. They sang alone, sometimes before an audience. 756 789 [787]

Before Rock Jones died he didn't leave his cloud power to anyone. The Havasupai have not had a weather shaman since, although our shaman informant believed the power could still come to one of Jones' descendants. Another informant, however, referred to Rock Jones as a malevolent person who had witched and killed many people. Upon his death, his power was consigned to the Yavapai, enemy people, so that it could never return to harm anyone.

Game shamans also were known to the Havasupai. Before extended hunting forays, the shaman would sing special songs calculated to quiet deer and prevent them from running when hunters approached. These were sung at night and repeated four times. Content involved not only information about the habits of the animal, but also that the hunters were sorry for killing the game they needed to assuage their hunger. Locations the hunters intended to visit were also mentioned. Successful hunters frequently prayed to the sun to shine brightly so the deer could be seen. The sun was thought to "own" the animals. 756 224 ●

Game shamans could lure only certain species. Čik pániga, one of three remembered by our informants, was thought to have power over deer and mountain sheep, but not antelope. (Interestingly, while antelope abounded in the upland regions of Havasupai territory, they were hunted only in time of dwindling food supplies. There existed a belief that if antelope hair got on the meat it would bring stomach cramps to the eater.) None of these men were curers. They gained their power through dreaming of specific animals and were not instructed by other shamans. Following a successful hunt, the game shaman usually was given a hind quarter or a section of the ribs, but this was not mandatory. [262] [825] [753] [787]